Herald Interviewers at the Fountains of General Opinion.

EDITORIAL AUTHORITIES.

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HOW STANDS THE SOUTH?

Enlightened Sentiment of a Full-Blooded Virginian.

Centralization and Despotism No Worse Than a European Monarchy.

Mr. McMaster, of the New York Free man's Journal.

Of the very few editors of the religious weekly newspapers published in the city who have not rushed away from their editorial rooms to the seaside or the Summer resort is Mr. McMaster, of the Freeman's Journal. Yesterday this gentleman was found by a reporter of the HERALD at his office, in Barclay street, all surrounded by newspapers and the usual encumbrances of an editor's sanctum. "Mr. McMaster," said the reporter, "I have called upon you, as I have called upon editors of other

religious newspapers—or, rather, I have called at their offices, for I found very few who had not left for a vacation—to ask if you will favor the HERALD with your views on Casarism and the third

"Well, sir, I am rather busy; but I don't think it needful to defer this interview. I am very much of the same opinion as the Richmond editor, Mr. James A. Cowardin, of the Dispatch, an interview with whom appeared in the HERALD on Friday, I think. He said that 'Even now we have all the tyranny and despotism of an empire, with the outward forms and semblance of a republic.' So that I really don't think it makes much difference whether Grant has a third term or not.

"But, are you in favor of third terms, Mr.

extend for a lifetime, or so long as the people shall be of an opinion that the President's behavior and policy fit him for the office. I believe that would have been the case with Washington, but there were so many wanting the Presidency that it was needful to divide it into a four years term. I think that the 'one term' cry of the Greeley campaign was the greatest mistake that party made. and they succeeded we should have had a reign of political demagogues. I say so, democrat though I am."

political demagogues. I say so, democrat though I am."

"But would not a life term be likely to bring on the despotism that we fear?"

"We have now a despotism. The fact is, we are very much in the condition that was described by one of the French kings. A complaint was made to him that a certain regiment was disposed to retreat on the field of battle, and he suggested that a new uniform should be given to them. The General suswered, "It is no matter what uniform they give them, they will retreat all the same.' So it is with this United States government. It is no matter what you call it; it's the same government. In England the government is an aristocratic republic, run by aristocrats; in this country the government is virtually a monarchy, run by corrupt politicians." ut you don't think it is possible for a archy to be established in this country, Mr.

"But you don't think it is possible for a monarchy to be established in this country, Mr. McMaster?

"No, sir; not in our time, nor in that of our children, or, perhaps, in any time. I think that a monarchy is opposed to the instincts; the education and the conviction of our people, and therefore I think a monarchy or an empire is impossible in America. But so loop as the people are given over to avarice and inxury, and value those more than the honor of their country, or their political privileges, a monarchy will be practically in eperation. The government does as it pleases now, In fact centralization and despotism have been more or less the policy of all American administrations since Buchanan ignored the State rights of Texas in the horse-thief question. Since hen it has been growing, and the civil war has made it more active than it was before."

"Do you think that the people will submit to this? Don't you think that the danger that is now so clearly put before them will awaken to the prospective loss of their privileges?"

"The people of this country are moved by self-interest. I think that the 'Farmers' Grange' movement is the most important movement on the part of the people that this country has. I am of an opinion that it must lead to civil war. It is a fight for existence on the part of the producers against the monopolists, and the monopolists must win. With Vanderbilt's seventy millions in his pocket, what is to prevent him from winning? But it cannot last. The reaction will come. The day of revenge will surely come. The South sent the Northern roughs to Mexico to fight for them for he northed afterwards went South and destroyed their cities, carried the ravages of war there and runned the Southern people. You may call a government by whatever name you please—the government by whatever

Dr. Crooks is the editor of the Methodist, a journal that has no official recognition by the Methodist

Church, but is still a very influential paper among that body of professing Christians. The Doctor was found in his editorial rooms, in Nassau street, by a reporter of the HEBALD, when the following conversation took place:—
"What do you think, Doctor, about a third term

for Grant?" asked the reporter. "Well, I don's think that Grant desires a third

term. I think that from all that we know of him be would be personally opposed to it."

"But supposing the political party who fix the candidates for the Presidency should desire to nominate him, and should press the nomination apon him as they did on the second term, what do think should be his course then?"

"I do not think the people desire Grant for a third term, and I think, when the time comes, the people will make that pretty clear."

Public and Professional Views of

an American Cæsar.

Doctor, do they? Political manipulators of conventions, office-holders, and the like, do that for the people, and the nozminations at conventions are just what they desire, and not the people. "The history of the last ten years does not show that. The people have had a voice in that matter, and it has been a controlling voice. General Grant on his first term was certainly not the candidate of the politicians; he was the choice of the people, in opposition to the candidate of the politicians; he was the candidate of the politicians; can control the primaries and the conventions?

And do not you think that the 65,000 office-holders can control the primaries and the conventions? And do not you think that they do exercise sufficient control to place in power whom they choose?"

ncient control to place in power whom they choose?"

"I do not. The people have exercised their power, can exercise it, and will exercise it again, and I do not think that it will be in favor of General Grant for a third term."

"I was going to say, Doctor, great is your faith; but I will not say that, though I do admire your faith very much. Then, wits those views about the power of the people and their disposition to exercise it, you have no fear that 'Casarism' is likely to develop itself in this country?"

"None whatever, sir; the people, I am sure, will check that long before it becomes dangerous. They are not disposed to give Grant a third term, and therefore, even if he were disposed to abuse the powers of a third term, he will not have the chance to do it. My mind is quite made up about that."

that."
Doctor Crooks intimated so clearly that those were his views, and that he had nothing more to say, that the reporter left, satisfied that the Doctor had delivered himself of his true convictions.

Dr. Curry, of the "Christian Advocate." Dr. Curry, the editor of the Christian Advocate, the official organ of the Methodists, was busily at work in his editorial room, in the office of the Methodist Building in Broadway, when a reporter of the Herald called upon him. After a short general conversation with the Doctor the reporter asked him what he thought about Grant's third term and what the HERALD had designated "Casar-

"Well," answered Dr. Curry, "I have been rather amused and interested with the course of the Herald in reference to that question. I thought at first it was a good piece of journalistic enter-prise, and that in a dull time for news the Herald had been wise in its generation. Lately, however I thought there was more in it than that, and I the consideration of what might have been obliged to be thought about and decided about somewhat

"Then you think Grant's third term a proba-

"No. This is what I think, and if I am going to be interviewed I should like to be 'represented as saying what I do say. I don't mean to say that you

saying what I do say. I don't mean to say that you gentlemen ever do make men say what they don't say, but you have such an immense talent for expansion, for amplifying, for beautifying, for dressing up, and such exhaustless resources for literary embellishment, that when some of us come out of your hands before the public we are so fattered by the presentation that we accept the offspring, though we may have very grave doubts as to the patternity. Now, I don't want anything of that sort. I am not a politician. I am a Methodist minister and an editor. I am not of the republican party, except as one who stands ontside of it and watches it. Therefore, what I do say I want it to be fully understood as being what I did say."

"Would you like to present yourself, Doctor, and write your views? The HERALD would be glad to put it in that form for you if you wish."

"No, it is scarcely worth while doing that. I was going to write about the subject myself, but the HERALD seems to be covering the ground so well that I think I shall defer it. However, let me say what I have got to say about this and then we shall be through. First of all, then, I do not believe that General Grant has expressed any desire or is known to have said that he wished to be nominated for a third term. Second, I don't think that the people, except those who are moved by personal purposes, would be glad to see Grant elected for a third term. Second, I don't think that the people, except those who are moved by personal purposes, would be glad to see Grant elected for a third term. Second, I don't think that the people, except those who are moved by personal purposes, would be glad to see Grant elected for a third term. The first of the country, is not so poor in good men, in eligible men for the Presidency, as to be obliged to take only one man as their candidate. There are men, a number of them, who are thoroughly fitted for the Presidency, as to be obliged to take only one man as their candidate. There are men, a number of the substitute of the sou

Sidney Howard Gay, of the Evening

Mr. S. H. Gay was found intently absorbed in the preparation of, the editorial matter for the day's Post, but upon the reporter's declaring bis mission he was cordially received and asked to sit down Mr. Gay began by saving that he did not wish it to be understood that he spoke as the chief of the Evening Post, as he was only acting in that capacity in the absence of Mr. Bryant and Mr. Godwin. to achieve the third term," began Mr. Gay, "under the commotion of some great popular movement. What that will be or what it could be is not worth while discussing. I am not sure, furthermore, that General Grant has the keenness of perception to see a great opportunity. He is neither an intel-lectual man nor a statesman."

while discussing. I aim not sure, includerable, the General Grant has the keenness of perception to see a great opportunity. He is neither an intellectual man nor a statesman."

OPFICIAL PATRONAGE INADEQUATE TO THE TASK.

"Do you believe that General Grant's linends are powerful enough to secure his election?" asked the Herald man.

"No, I certainly do not. I have no hesitation in saying that he would have been deteated in the last election had the opposition been properly managed. I have not lost all faith in the hard, common sense of the people. I do not think that they would seriously tolerate any effort to renominate or reelect the President again. Charles Francis Adams as the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention would have deteated Grant to a certainty. As for the leaders of the republican party advocating the third-term principle, I do not believe they will sacrifice the ambitious nopes which several of them have already formed for the offices second hand. The office-holders will not hold together in such a movement. It will be too unpopular to draw even all the present incumbents into it."

"Bank WILL NOT TAKE IT.

"Do you believe that General Grant would accept a renomination?" asked the reporter.

"I have no fear, as I said, of the third term trouble. I do not believe that General Grant cares for it. His re-election was to be regarded as an endorsement of his first term. I cannot see that a re-election would give any further endorsement. There never has been a case of a President serving more than eight years; and general Grant is lar rirom being the diplomatist or the statesman to make such a thing possible now."

The Herald reporter called upon ex-Speaker Galusha A. Grow, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, to see him upon the momentous issue of the day. On the card being sent to his room, Mr. Grow invited the reporter up. He was extended on his bed in room No. 203, and seemed as if the world was going very well with him, and he doing very well in the world. Being questioned on the subject of Cæsarism, Mr. Grow said that for the past two years he had been

Grow said that for the past two years he had been down in Texas, where he had constructed 400 miles of the International and Northwestern Railroad, which was to cross the State, and that in this period he had been so much engrossed with his railroad cares that he had given very little thought to politics.

"Still, Mr. Grow," insisted the reporter, "as one of the old time politicians and one of our most prominent men, you must have some opinion on this subject, which just now is the most vital subject of the hoar?"

Mr. Grow—Well, I have no sympathy with Grant, and I think it ridiculous for a moment to suppose that he can be elected to a third term. We are a strong democratic State and propose to show it at our coming election for Governor—the first we have held since the war. The present Governor is one of the provisional fellows appointed in reconstruction times. We have no more love for him than we have for Grant. But my opioion is that it matters very little whether a President holds office for more than one term. He is a fifth wheel to a cart, and can't really induced the destinies of the country.

Reporter.—Then you would just as lief see him

REPORTER.—Then you would just as lief see him REPORTER.—Then you would just as her see him nor six terms as for one?

Mr. GROW—I don't say that; but I do say that if ne were in for that time it would make no practical difference. The instinct of our people would never permit that our President should seize the reins of power, and Grant won't. But, as I said, I am not interested in this question, and would sconer give you any information you want on railroads.

This blocked the read to any further questioning

This blocked the road to any further questioning on the subject, and the reporter retired.

FRENCH VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT.

(From the Courrier des Etats Unta.) The Moniteur and Gaulois have comments on the campaign which the Herald has lately undertaken ople will make that pretty clear."

against what it calls Cæsarism. Our great conbut the people don't control these things, temporary has published on this subject a series of

articles full of highflown ideas. Its argument has obeyed with so little opposition as that of General Grant, the country was threatened, through its own acquiescence with a third election of the same President and the burial of American argument, especially directed against the immovable grasp upon the high public functions by a corrupt oligarchy, has been taken up with much zeal by the journals above-mentioned—one of which is inspired by the legitimists, while the other is tal against republican institutions in general and

Is not this new question, which has arisen in America, a very curious event? The empire threatening to come back by the force of things, as royalty returned in Holland after the three great Princes of Orange, who had moreover conquered national independence and humiliated Spain, the greatest Power of that period; is not this a great fact, a portentous sign, showing the weakness of the Republic and destroying the argument which has become commonplace in the mouths of our republicans, the argument of the power and prosperity of the "great Republic." And here is this "great Republic asking to abdicate in order to take refuge in the haven of unity and authority."

And the following are the expressions of the And the following are the expressions of the

While our republicans only see the salvation of France in the Republic, the aspirations to the monarchy increase in the United States—that great Republic which we so often hold up as a model. It would be a very curious and very convincing event if the American lederation should end in a monarchy. A traveller of great experience, Baron Hubner, formerly Minister of Austria, stated, two years ago, that this revolution is regarded by the most serious minds in the United States as inevitable."

In spite of the respect due the authority of a we must warn our countrymen against prematur conclusions. The empire is not yet "made" in the United States, and republican institutions have yet here some roots. We do not pretend to deny that there is a certain number of monarchists on this side of the Atlantic. We believe even, as has been stated in the HERALD in the article in ques-"that there are more than twenty citizens ready to offer the crown to General Grant." But before those twenty citizens will have made proseof the decadence of the "great Republic," pos-terity will have had time to pronounce a judgment far more decisive on the final imposence of all the

MAINE VIEWS.

Sidney Perham, Governor of Maine.

MAINE, August 8, 1873. Your correspondent, in obedience to instruc-tions, on Thursday called upon His Excellency, Sidney Perham, Governor of Maine, at the Executive office, and, in response to a request, was granted an audience of a few minutes, although the Gov-

ernor's time was very pressing.

"Governor," I said, "what is the condition of political parties in the State at the present time? I suppose you are sanguine of carrying the State

"Oh, certainly; we have no doubt of it." "By what majority ?"

"About the usual majority we secured in pre-vious years. We had, however, last year about

vious years. We had, however, last year about eighteen thousand majority, it being a Presidential year. The usual majority for the republicans is about eleven thousand."

"Do you find any liberal republicans in the State?"

"There are some, but they have no organization as a party. In some counties they number quite largely, however."

"Then the contest will be a square one between republicans and democrats?"

"Exactly 80."

"What do the Maine republicans think of a third term for Genaral Grant?" asked the correspondent, "What are your views on the subject?"

"I do not believe that they give the subject even a serious thought. It is so absurd. We neither believe in it nor think that President Grant desires a re-election. His second election was a sufficient endorsement, and with that he will be content. I do not learn that anybody, except the democrats, talk of such a thing. Certainly no man of sense for a moment believes that the President wishes another term.

"What is thought of the salary steal by the republicans?"

"It is very generally denounced in all quarters.

""

"It is very generally denounced in all quarters. Nobody seems to approve of it. Senator Hamlin has not profited by it, but some of the Congressmen have, and I am told that Mr. Morrill has not returned his."

"Does the party have anything to say as to General Grant's participation in it, by approving the bill?"

"No, they seem to say nothing upon his action in the premises; but the people are certainly bitterly opposed to the measure."

"How about a constitutional amendment debarring a President from filling the office more than one term? Are Maine republicans in favor of such a measure?"

a measure ?"
'! hardly know; the feeling seems to be in favor
of having it as it is, so that if a President gives
satisfaction they may re-elect him if they wish."

E. F. Pillsbury, Editor of the Maine Standard.

Your correspondent had a long interview with E. F. Pilisbury, editor of the Maine Standard, and late democratic candidate for Governor. Mr. Pillsbury is a leading member of the Augusta Bar, and a forcible writer and farseeing politician. As he referred to other interesting combinations and intrigues of a local nature, as well as the third time scheme, I give the interview entire.

WHAT GRANT'S VISIT MEANS. REPORTER-Mr. Pillsbury, I would like to have your views upon Cæsarism and other exciting political questions, if you feel free to give them. Mr. PILLSBURY-Certainly, if they be of any value. I will first speak of combinations in this State. You will recollect that Morrill was a candidate in 1869 for re-election as Senator against Hamlin, and he supposed Blaine was not opposed to his re-election. Hamlin made a fight for Morrill's place, and got it by a defection of five Kennebec county men from Morrill. This defection was in-fluenced by Blaine. One of these men was Snell, the Washington Police Justice, who got that place as a reward for the defeat of Morrill. The plan between Blaine and Hamlin was to shelve Morrill. Fessenden had become unpopular on account of his vote on the impeachment of Johnson, and the intention was to elect Blaine in his place. Fessenden died, and Governor Chamberlain appointed Morrill to fill the vacancy. Blaine at that time was a candidate, but retired. Morrill was offered the appointment of Minister to St. James judgeship, with a view to get him out of Blaine's way. He, however, declined, preferring to remain at home, as his health was not good. Blaine has been aspiring to the Senate ever since. Hamlin's term expires March 4, 1875. As Blaine and Morrill both live here, it is useless for Blaine to run against Hamlin; consequently there is no hope for the former except as successor o Morrill. The truth of the matter is he has been endeavoring to bring about the appointment of morrill to a foreign mission or a judgeship to cause MOTHI to a loreign mission or a judgeship to cause a vacancy into which he can step. You may say, if you please, and it is true, that the published reports of a desire on the part of Biaine to get him (Morrill) appointed a chief justice or associate are correct.

REPORTER—And do you, then, think that Blaine brought Grant here to aid him in that effort?

Mr. PILLSBURY—I should say that was one of the reasons.

Mr. Pillsbury—I should say that was one of the reasons.

Reporter—What are the others?

Mr. Pillsbury—He wants to ingratiate himself into the President's confidence to aid him to succeed Grant should he decline a renomination.

Reporter—Think you that Morrill will accept the Chief Justiceship?

Mr. Pillsbury—I think he feels that, as his health is poor and the duties of a Minister or Judge are more arduous than those of a Senator, it would be better to remain in his present position, and he will not resign except under great pressure. In that event Blaine has no chance for the Senate. Mr. Pillsbury stated that in the next Senatorial battle Perham and Hamlin would be the leading gladiators, with J. H. Drummond, of Portland, as a third candidate.

Reporter—Now I wish to speak of the third term. What do you think of it? is Grant likely to be a candidate?

term. What do you taink of it? Is Grant likely to be a candidate?

Mr. PILLSBURY—My idea is that, unless there are such developments as to render his re-election very uncertain, he will be renominated. The moneyed interests now control the policy of the government. They are content with the present policy of the Secretary of the Treasury, as being best for their interests, and fear the election of any other man would result in changing the entire policy. Under the present system the rich are constantly becoming richer, while the poor are impoverished. The money power of the country, arrayed with that of the office-holders of the government, is nearly omnipotent in controlling nominations. The masses, whose interests are in antagonism to the money power, are without organization—comparatively powerless for organizing, controlling aucuses. conventions and party machinery,

office-holders, will virtually have a clear field in the nomination.

Reforere—But is it not possible that the toiling millions, now that they are being educated in a knowledge that the money power of the country is the car of Juggernant that grinds them to the dust, may rise up in their manhood, and, ignoring parties and old time-honored political associations, by individual ballots, thrown at the next election, sweep the monopolists out of power?

Mr. Pillsbury—I should say it is, and the farmers' movement in the West gives great hope in that direction. It is indicative of a growing feeling of discontent among the producing classes and a realizing sense of the grinding effect of the present financial system upon their interests, and there may be, previous to the next election, such an aprising of these combined producing interests as will overthrow rings and monopolies of all kinds and knock the well-constructed machinery of party politics into chaos. Unless such an uprising takes place, in my opinion Grant will be renominated and re-elected.

place, in my opinion Grant will be renominated and re-elected.

Reporter.—Then you are satisfied that Mr. Grant really aspires to a re-election in 1876?

Mr. Pillsbuxy—I have no doubt of it. You see he has been twice elected. The second election he accepts as an endorsement of his administration of the first term. One would think that that ought to satisfy the most ambitious. But think for a moment what an immense taing it would be to be chosen a third time! And at such a period in our country's history too! The election that year will occur on the centennial anniversary of our natural life. There will be gathered the representatives of all the crowned heads and republics of a world to witness the grandest event in the history of republican government. Great as have been the honors conferred upon Washington would they not pale before those of Grant, if that year saw him elected as President for a third term of a nation that Washington founded one hundred years before?

REPORTER—And your deductions, Mr. Pillsbury—Mr. Pillsbury—Wills placed in the second of the second of the placed of the plac

Mr. Pillsbury—Wait a moment. His election at such an auspicious moment would be an event that would give him a power and a prestige that would lift him to a throne and place a sceptre in his grasp.

REPORTER—Have you an opinion as to his aspirations to reach that pinnacie of power—to wear the

purple?

Mr. Phassury—I do not know as I have any decided opinion as to his having any such present Mr. Phlebury—I do not know as I have any decided opinion as to his having any such present purpose or desire, but he is evidently an ambitious man. The instances, as I read history, are few where a crown has been refused when tendered, or placed within the easy grasp of an aspirant; and I am not aware of anything in Grant's past life to lead me to suppose he would decline any important position of nonor or profit. Hence I should dread the result, if the opportunity presented itself to him, on the beginning of the second century of our history, to put on the purple and lift up the sceptre of a king.

Charles E. Nash, of the Kennebec

Journal. I called a few days ago upon Mr. Charles E. Nash, of the Kennebec Journal, the home organ of Speaker Blaine, and had the following interview upon the salary grab, third term, and the combinations in this State both for Senator and to make Blaine the successor of President Grant:-

REPORTER-Mr. Nash, can you give me your views upon some political questions now attracting attention in this State and the nation? Mr. NASH-Certainly, sir.

REPORTER-Well, to commence, has the visit of the President here any significance? I understand that there is machinery at work to oust Hamlin at the end of his present term.

Mr. Nasu-Governor Perham has been three

years an aspirant for Hamlin's place in 1875, but Hamlin will be elected. There is a little interest already taken in the matter, as the respective friends of Pernam and Hamiin will try to elect men in their interest to the General Assembly that

REPORTER—Is Blaine out of the race?

Mr. Nash—Yes, he is lying low for his oppor REPORTER—Which means, I suppose, a nomina-

REPORTER—Which means, I suppose, a nomination for the Presidency?

Mr. NASH—Yes, he aspires to the nomination. If the election took place next year the chances are that he would stand well, but it is so far distant that there is pienty of time for all the opposition elements to combine against him. My impression is that the Hebald is not favorable to nim. In the Senatorial contest Blaine's sympathics would be with Hamilin.

Reporter—What is the feeling of the republican party about the salary steal?

Mr. NASH—There is only one sentiment. We feel like the — to have Lot Morrill caught in it. Lot is an honest man. He is much more so than the average politician, and his friends here feel very badly that he should get his foot in it. He was really instructed by the Senate to vote for it. He voted in committee against it all through, but when ordered to report the result of the Conference Committee back to the Senate as chairman, the question was on the adoption of the report. He could not vote "no" without killing the whole appropriation bill, to which the salary steal was tacked on. You cannot make these Maine countrymen understand the Credit Mobilier jobs, but they do understand that these grabbers voted to take \$6,000 cash out of the Treasury and they very generally condemn them.

REPORTER—If they condemn their representatives for the steal have they no word of censure for the President, whose veto would have prevented it?

Mr. NASH—The resolutions of the Republican

yes for the stea.

If the President, whose veto would be reled it?

Mr. Nash—The resolutions of the Republican convention were strong. They condemned the whole thing, but did not particularize the President. The people here admire Blaine, but love the president of the people here admire between the two men.

dent. The people here admire Blaine, but love Lot—that is the difference between the two men. Reprofere—then they have nothing to say against Grant's course, and would vote for him for a third term, think you?

Mr. NASH—There is deep rooted in the minds of the people a blind confidence that Grant is a good President. He has been abused so much that it don't hurt him, and he always comes out right end up from every attack, consequently they don't dwell upon the third term question. Indeed, it is not at all discussed in the State except by the democrats.

not at all discussed in the State except by the democrats.

REFORTER—Do you think Grant meditates a second renomination?

Mr. NASh—I have no doubt but that he is in favor of Blaine as his successor, but do not think it has been mentioned during this visit. If Blaine was a candidate I have no doubt he would have the support of the President and all the republicans in this State. Even democrats would support him.

REFORTER—Would they be in favor of a constitutional amendment limiting the time to one term?

Mr. NASH—If they had a President like Andy Johnson they would be for it. Now that they have one that gives general satisfaction they are satisfact to let well enough alone.

OHIO OPINIONS.

C. Thew Wright.

Cincinnati, August 8, 1873. This gentleman is known as an acute thinker, a good lawyer and a very retiring gentleman. aithough as a liberal republican and third party man his name and utterances have been quite often before the public of late. He was taken on the wing, and here is the result :-HERALD REPORTER-Have you any objection, Mr.

Wright, to talking politics for a little? Mr. WRIGHT-None in the world; though I do not know that I can give any new views to any one. HERALD REPORTER-Please state what your ideas

of Cæsarism are in regard to President Grant? Mr. WRIGHT-If Grant be your Cæsar he is well named in some respects. Perhaps the Roman was as great a soldier; may be as great a statesman; but I think he did not surpass our Chief Magistrate in capacity for entertaining a good opinion of himself. The great Cæsar was ambitious; so is the little one. The great Cæsar refused the crown, though he wanted it nevertheless. Our little one has not been in the habit of declining anything and generally contrives to get what he wants. HERALD REPORTER-De you really think Grant

would accept a third term? Mr. WRIGHT-I have not heard of the American citizen who is eager to refuse the Presidency. Washington and Jefferson did, but we are now

taiking about Grant.

HERALD REPORTER—You don't seem to think highly of the Chief Magistrate?

Mr. WRIGHT—As much as he deserves. Every-body was grateful to him for bringing the war to a close, and he has been so often told that he saved the country that he believes it, and believes he has a right to appropriate it to his own uses, and for four years he has been doing it. I have no doubt but that he thinks a third term is not more than his due.

but that he thinks a third term is not more than his due.

Herald Reporter—Do you think the republican party would nominate him again?

Mr Wright—Republican party! He owns it. Ask a republican the first question of the Westminister catechism—"What is the chief end of man?" and he will rell you, "To giorify Grant and to enjoy bim for ever." They would not dare to reuse him a nomination. If there were any signs of a weakening he would take the head of every federal officer in the country and make a regular St. Bartholomew massacre of it.

HERALD REPORTER—Well, what harm would there be if he were re-elected!, what harm would there be if he were re-elected?

Mr. Wright—I believe it would be the greatest calamity that could happen to the country. The Mr. WRIGHT—I believe it would be the greatest calamity that could happen to the country. The Fresident is the head of the concern, and if the boss is not conscientious there is not a journeyman in the shop that will not be a rascal. Having been a military man, he runs the government as he would an army—on despotic principles. I believe him to be utterly and supremely setfish, and such a man recognizes no rights in others. It

Judge J. B. Stallo

is one of thinkingest Germans in Ohio. He wanted to be considered out, but finally agreed to state his views on the subject, without entering into any conversation. Said he:—

"Grant does not stand one chance in a thousand for renomination; but, even if he should be nominated, he could not be elected, it is an inveterate tradition of Americans that no man shall serve longer in the Presidency than George Washington. With regard to Cæsarism, it could not be got without an entire change in the cellular tissue of the whole nation. Its whole body of traditions, all its habits and modes of thought would have to undergo a complete metamorphosis. Even a majority of the whole body of voters could not of set purpose, convert this country into a monarchy. The guarantees for the perpetuity of republican institutions are, fortunately, more reliable than the purposes of politicians. They are the unconscious agencies controlling our whole society. I regard Cæsarism in America as an utter impossibility. Quite differently did the next gentleman I cailed upon construct the signs of the times. for renomination; but, even if he should be nomi-

Judge M. W. Oliver

is a life-long democrat and a close observer of events. He will be one of the active workers in

the third party campaign this Fall. He said:—
"I have no doubt that within the last decade there has been a strong tendency in the direction of Cresarism, as you choose to call it, although personally I have no lears, at least for a generation or two, of it amounting to anything. The history, education and institutions of the American people have built up a habit of thought and mind in the great mass of the people to such an extent that great mass of the people to such an extent that they could not be prepared for the toleration of anything looking towards imperialism short of a generation or two as preparative, even under the most favorable circumstances. Yet it should not be forgotten that there is much truth in the old saying that eternal vigilance is the price of lib-erty. The imperial tendencies of the last eight years may justly arouse to increased activity and watchfulness the true friends of republican institu-tions, and your journal does well to sound the note of warming."

Opinions of Potent Little Men

I have had several conversations with little men of both parties-men not filling any noticeable space in the public eye, and yet not less worthy of regard as thinkers on that account, and I have "the man on the horse" is not regarded as so much of an impossibility as the interviews above would seem to indicate. I was struck with the remark of one centleman identified with journalism and vet not publicly recognized as a journalist. He had been reading the HERALD articles, and when I broached the subject he burst out almost angrily with:—"I wish to God we had a despotism here to make this miserable people appreciate liberty. I am sometimes ready to arraign the Almighty for am sometimes ready to arrange the almighty for not wiping out the cowardly, sneaking, selfish creatures who curse this land with their very existence." This ebuilition over he talked a little about the main subject, and virtually admitted that he doubted somewhat whether the people would struggle very vigorously against the encroachments of a centralized power. He seemed to think that the prospect of pients and having resilief from all kinds of public responsibility would act as a bolus for the loss of national liberty. Among other unnoted persons I talked with a Kentuckian who served throughout the war in the Union army, an officer, who was near enough forant to observe his habits of mind and form a pretty correct judgement of his character. He was of opinion that Grant would not scruple much to setze the reins of government with mailed hand and ride over the liberties of the people, yet he could not see the way clear for that sort of thing; "but," he added, "let him try it just once; and, God damn him, be will die in his boots, sir, or any other man, sir, who would dare to attempt it."

I have only one observation to make on what I have gathered and here present, and that is on Mr. Halstead's idea of Grant naming Phil Sheridan as his successor, and that I shall put in the form of a question:—Grant not succeeding himself, what else is it than American Cesarism when he can name as his successor a member of his military jamily—a supporter of the Grant dynasty? not wiping out the cowardly, sneaking, selfish

THE LIGHTS OF ILLINOIS.

Ex-Senator Doolittle.

CHICAGO, August 8, 1878. The HERALD correspondent met Mr. Dooiittle, ex-Senator from Wisconsin, who, while retaining his residence at Racine, Wis., is a practitioner on a large scale in our State and federal Courts. The talk on the interesting topic which is the occasion of this article was held in the open air, was delivered after the manner of the peripatetic philosopher, and, measured by the actual ground gotten over was four blocks in duration.

"I have not been able to follow the HERALD'S discussion of Cæsarism," said the ex-Senator, "but am satisfied that there is grave peril in the possibility of Grant's election for a third term

am satisfied that there is grave peril in the possibility of Grant's election for a third term. There is nothing in the constitution to prevent his taking it; but it would be in violation of a safe and time-honored precedent. The cry is now, 'If the people choose him, it is the people's matter;' but THERE IS THE DANGER.

Republics have lost their liberty most frequently by the insidious ambition of a plausible hero. The farce of an election was continued in Rome long after Cresar had become absolute in power, and was maintained even after the Empire was firmly established under Augustus. There is grave danger in the tendency to centralization in government (a tendency fostered by a military education), just as there is peril in the concentration of capital for the purpose of Grant's election to a third term if the opposition could be concentrated, but there is the trouble. In 1872 Grant might have been defeated, and there would have been no occasion for THE DISCUSSION OF CAESARISM, as it is called, but the opposing elements were not properly crystalized. Davis should have been nominated at Cincinnati. He would have carried lillingly by the property crystalized. Davis should have been preceptible in indiana, and the general result would have been different. It was too much to expect that democrats would vote for a life-long opponent."

Ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull. Judge Lyman Trumbull, ex-United States Senator, is a man of national celebrity. Retired from the warfare of politics, for the present, he now pursues the arduous avocation of a lawyer in McCormick's block, in North Clarke street. Your correspondent thought that a visit to the old statesman might not come amiss. Trumbuil was idotized in Illinois up to the time of Andrew Johnson's attempted impeachment. The radical ele-ment of the republican party here could not stomach his back down on that occasion, and still less his support of Horace Greeley last Pall. Therefore the Senator retired from the forum of Therefore the Senator retired from the forum of the Union under a cloud which, however, was not dark enough to shut out his great latest and former services from public view. Judge Trumbuli is beginning to feel the weight of years, and his ever-thoughtful brow is now intersected with a network of toil-won wrinkles. He looks weary, and, no doubt, feels so. He welcomed the Herald representative with that peculiar bon hommed which public men acquire from habit, necessity, or both. He said:—"You're for the Herald. That's enough. An interview recorded in that paper means that a man speaks to the Continent. I don't care about expressing my views, I have been so long mixed in public affairs that I cannot touch them without running the risk of being drawn into the vortex of discussion. New that I have settled peaceably down to practice my profession, it would be unpleasant for me To Discuss General Grant personally, and I don't want to enter on national politics. I don't want it to be understood, however, that I have lost all interest in the welfare of the country. On the contrary, I feel deeply interested in everything that involves it. I have no objection to saying that candidacy for a third presidential term would be entirely without precedent. The Herald will understand my reasons for rejusing to be explicit upon this matter. I am so for the sake of quiet, which I much need, and which I intend to have and to hold."

The ex-Senator gave a weary sigh and relapsed into the perusal of a very formidable looking legal document.

is one of Chicago's most distinguished lawyers. He was Lincoln's intimate friend, and, beyond being a little stouter and somewhat more regular in fee tures, bears a strong personal resemblance to that well-remembered Father of his Country. Mr. Swett used to be a republican, out and out, but atterly his political views have been modified, and he is evidently whirning around the verge of the party of the future, whatever that may be. Your prrespondent found Mr. Swett in good talking

ing the Herald on Cæsarism? Do you agree with its estimate of General Grant and his followers? Mr. SWETT-I think Grant is just as good a repub-

one they can pick up; but this country will grow suspicious and kick the whole thing over the first suspicious and kick the whole thing over the first opportunity. I shouldn't think Grant would like to try it. He will have had enough of public honor by the time his term is out. There is nothing in the constitution to hinder his running again, but the matter would be without a parallel in our history. Grant hasn't enough dash in him for a coup Octat. Anything he may do will be done in leading-strings. The "party," or rather that portion of it which clusters around the Presidential chair, will de most of the dirty work. I think the curse of the country is the 100 frequent recurrence of elections. Cornerson to power would increase the corruption of the Grant administration?

Mr. Swerr-Undoubtedly corruption would grow apace. I fear it is growing apace. In monarchies the danger of getting into the hands of adventurers is not so great, because there rank is privileged. Under our system—better, if properly conducted—the facilities for overthrowing the institutions of the country are far greater. In my opinion there is only one cure for the evil—have ONE LONG TERM FOR PERSIDENT, say ten years, and let that end it. It would correspondingly lengthen the term of service for State Governors. In this way the frequency and corruption of elections would be done away with. I cannot think of any other rational remedy. If even the country be stirred up in this question of "Cassarism," which the Herald has been so ably discussing, Grant can have no chance; he will be nothing short of mad if he attempts, even for the sake of gratifying his personal clique, to brave the public opinion of the United States, which can hardly fall to be against continuance in office.

Hon. Thomas Hoyne

Hon. Thomas Hoyne

was the next person interviewed. Mr. Hoyne is emocrat of old standing, and socially, as well as politically, is a man of considerable influence. He has Irish blood in him, and despite his fifty years is stately and handsome as some men of thirty. Mr. Hoyne had no hesitation in telling the Heraln

"The country cannot last as a republic for twenty-five years longer if these Grants are going to hold the reins of government. Something must be done. I have no doubt that the present incumbent is looking for a third term. The HERALIN is entirely right in the position which it has assumed. The corruption going on around us is simply discouraging. The thing must have an end, sir. "Cæsarism" must be squelched if the Republic is to be saved. The HERALD is very welvome to my opinion on that subject.

another lawyer of note, was also approached on the Cæsarism subject. Mr. Caulfield entirely cointantamount to a subversion of our democratic institutions. The precedent would be unwarrant-able, and he had no doubt that Grant was entirely willing to make the precedent. He was surrounced by a set of unscrupious men, who would not hesi-tate at anything to retain themselves in power.

Meeting upon the street the well-filled form and pleasant visage of Mr. David A. Gage, the City Treasurer, who has revolutionized the office, by turning over the interest on deposits to the strong turning over the interest on deposits to the strong box of the city instead of using it to line the pockets of his pants withal, the Hekald orrespondent broached the third term topic. Mr. Gage's remarks upon the subject were brief and pithy-"Grant," said he, "is the only available candidate of the republican party. Let them drop him, and the party goes to pieces—a sad prospect for the placeholders. In order to secure a further lease upon office they may insist upon his taking a third nomination, and—well—well, between you and me and that disinterested party, the bedpost, Grant will destroy the consistency of his record if he doesn't take it."

Joseph K. C. Forest.

Perhaps no citizen of Illinois has been longer dentified with politics in this State than Joseph K. C. Forest, an adventurous Irish gentleman from Cork, who left the old country about thirty-five years ago, and has during most of that period resided in Chicago. He knows everybody and is known by almost everybody. He is on intimate terms with the leading men of the country, and is at present an associate editor of the Inter-Ocean, the republican morning organ, published in this city under the auspices of Jonathan Young Scammon, a very well abused citizen.
Mr. Forest, who is quite genial, one
being approached by the Herald correspondent, opened his mind fully on the question of Cæsarism. Said he:-"Cæsarism, or centralization, whichever you may call it, is a necessity of the age. We may as well have Grant as any one else. The govern-

ment must stand between
THE MASSES AND THE MONOPOLIES who are preying upon them. The tendency of everything in this Republic now is to centralize—to become autocratic. Witness your railroad combecome autocratic. Witness your railroad com-panies, your great manufacturing corporations, your large commercial houses. Have they not in-stituted a system of grinding their employés equal to the practises of the worst desposism in Europe or elsewhere? Very well. How are we to regulate this thing? By a strong government. The people, left to themselves, cannot do it. The monopolists are too strong. Our ideal Republic is going to pieces and the fragments are, of necessity, tend-ing toward Cæsarism. There are three phases of ing toward Casarism. There are three phases of human government—the ideal, the intellectual and the physical or materialistic. France and the Latin nations were representatives of the first type. Where are they now? Is MacMahon any less Casar than was the Third Napoleon? Was Thiers, with all his fine theories, less so than either? I tell you that all civilization must end with the sword, ENGLAND REPRESENTED THE INTELLECTUAL TYPE OF LIBERTY.

Under Elizabeth she broke of from the feudal OF LIBERTY.

Under Elizabeth she broke off from the feudal system, and her race of great minds—Bacon and the rest—sprang into hife. The philosophers of our own time hardly do more than eniarge upon their original ideas. But, even this must have an end. America has been attempting it. She, too, muss uitimately fail. The cast-iron influence of Germany is abroad. The Germans have built an Empire which has no god but force, to which everything must bow. They have reduced the science of government to brute strength, and while they keep their swords sharp and their chains strong republicans must give way in Europe.

I LOSE FOR A DESPOTISM HERE.

The German element has great power, and the blood of the Pilgrims has a tendency toward strong government of a certain order, because they believe that there is safety in it. Now the lariners are making a struggle for their rights, and, taking advantage of that, General Grant can be elected President in despite of any mere party opposition. For my part I am in favor of having him. He is better than a more brilliant man would be for the office, and, no doubt, he will seek for election, and I think he will succeed."

City Attorney, was also interviewed. In reply to the necessary interrogations he said :- "Grant likes his place and will hold on to it to the last, When he comes to this city he usually goes into some place where stories are told and good wine drunk, instead of associating himself with the steadler and most respectable class of citizens. He likes to be 'dead-headed,' 'chalked' and shown around-in short, to have a good time. He never around—in short, to have a good time. He never says anything because he don't know anything. He couldn't make a coherent speech of ten lines if he tried. He's simply a man of accident, raised upon the tide of fortune—the luckiest dull man that America has produced. As an Executive he is a cypher and is run by Morton and his particular cique. He'd be a Cromwell or a Napoleon if he possessed a tithe of the genius of eltner of those great men. As regards Grant, personally, the country is sale; but his 'friends' make the danger, and he is in their hands. I agree with the Herald's estimate of the political outlook. The country will have to cry, 'Save us from the iriends of U. S. Grant!'

SOUTHERN VIEWS.

Judge Ould, of the Exchange Commission, On Our Imperial Tendencies.

RICHMOND, Va., August 16, 1873. To-day I called upon Judge Robert Ould, for the purpose of obtaining his views on "Cæsarism." I found him in his law office, over the banking house of Lancaster'& Co., with his partner, Colonel Carrington, both of them engaged in the transaction of legal business. In the able and conservative statement of opinion from a Southern standpoint made by Judge Ould the readers of the HERALD will see the ample vindication or the exalted reputation which that gentleman has in Virginia. At the North he is, probably, best remembered for his connection with the Bureau for the Exchange of Prisoners of the late Confederacy. In that capacity the Judge wrote many able letters in reply to communica-tions from the Federal Commissioner of Exchange, and in his letters upon this subject the confec ates rest their arguments upon the questions of the exchange and treatment of prisoners during the

After stating the object of my visit, and the

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